



# ***Daily Report***

## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-94-07  
Thursday  
21 April 1994

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-94-077

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## Burundi

### Gunfire Reportedly Continues in Northern Bujumbura

#### Traffic Said 'Normal'

EA2004164894 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in French 1100 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Continuous gunfire was heard throughout the night and this morning in the northern suburbs of Bujumbura. Up to now, no one knows who was firing or how many people were shot. However, traffic was normal this morning.

#### Rockets Seized

AB2004204694 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in English 1745 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Heavy gunfire has been heard since yesterday evening in the northern areas of the capital Bujumbura. The situation remains worrying as latest reports say that the gunfire has continued this evening in those areas. Major Sindihebura, a member of the security [word indistinct] committee at Cibitoke said the gunmen fled away and left 13 rockets. Order keeping forces have just exhibited three of them at the national television. No reports on the casualties has yet been made.

### President Reportedly Downplays Situation in Capital

EA2004193794 Bukavu Voix du Zaire in French in french 0430 gmt 20 apr 94

[Text] According to certain sources, there are reports that confrontations are taking place in the outlying areas of Bujumbura. There are incidents pitting one section of the population against assailants organized in [word indistinct] groups. However, the situation is not alarming. Interim President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya said that there was no reason at all for dramatizing [passage indistinct]

### Commissions To Report on October Coup, Aftermath

EA2004212694 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in English 1130 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Burundi's national judiciary system seems to be recovering from a state of lethargy since last October's events and various aftereffects. Two commissions have just been set up to prepare the different cases in connection with the aborted coup which cost life of President Melchior Ndadaye and some of his close aides, as well as the bloody killings that followed it. Raphael (Njenguye) elaborates:

[(Njenguye)] According to an article from the local daily, that is, Tuesday 19th [April], the first commission will have to try to identify and take action against the putschists and murderers of the late head of state and his

close aides. The second type of commission is at the provincial level. It will have to inquire into the political and ethnic massacres which followed the aborted coup of last October. [passage omitted]

The commission will be back in New York by next week and will draft a report to be submitted to UN Secretary general who will give it the appropriate response.

## Central African Republic

### Police Break Up Student Demonstration in Bangui

LD2104082894 Paris Radio France International in French 0630 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] There was a student demonstration in the Central African Republic yesterday. The police used tear gas to break up a gathering of several thousand of them. Several official cars were destroyed outside the presidential palace in Bangui. Several students were arrested. The demonstrators were demanding the back payment of six months' worth of grants.

## Rwanda

### Official Accuses Belgians of Assassinating President

AB2004230894 Kinshasa Voix du Zaire in French 1800 GMT 20 Apr 94

["Exclusive" interview with Ambassador to Zaire Etienne Sengegera by correspondent Ntumba Matulu in Kinshasa; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Sengegera] Well, first we had indirect information, but we have also managed to open direct contacts with the authorities for information on developments in Rwanda, which aids us in our work at the embassy level. So I am in contact with those Rwandan authorities who are trying to manage this tragic and critical situation into which we were plunged on 6 April.

Obviously, the latest news is that fighting continues, notably in Kigali but also at the northern front—the border with Uganda. The so-called Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF], I must state, is supported by foreign powers, notably Uganda, which supplies it with equipment and which gives it logistical support. Apart from Uganda's involvement in the war, other powers also are involved in this war, and I am not scared of citing Belgium in this regard. We have all the evidence now to declare this without any conjecture, as Belgian soldiers shot down the Rwandan presidential plane on that fatal night of 6 April.

Belgian soldiers supposedly on a peace mission in Rwanda—they belonged to the United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda [UNAMIR]—three Belgian soldiers supposedly on a peace mission shot down the Rwandan presidential plane with missiles. First they shot a missile



that missed the target; the second missile slightly touched the aircraft; and the third, unfortunately, hit its target. The aircraft exploded, and this resulted in an incredible catastrophe that nobody could have imagined. Therefore, certain Belgians elements were involved.

[Matulu] Mr. Ambassador, this is a very serious accusation. What reasons could have prompted the Belgians to support the RPF?

[Sengegera] The motives of the Belgians or, to be more precise, of certain Belgians? You will have to ask these people themselves. But the fact is that I am not leveling an accusation—I am only making an observation. This is because it was Belgians—three UNAMIR Belgian soldiers—who shot down the Rwandan presidential plane with missiles. We do not know their motives or interests—you would have to ask those persons themselves—but we are now convinced that behind the war that the RPF is imposing on Rwanda to seize power by force, are certain Belgian circles that are involved for reasons unknown to us. We might also make a geostrategic analysis of the war, saying that Rwanda probably is not the only country that has been targeted. So, you might as well question the Belgians as to what the rebels' motives are. Everybody knows that the rebels are not interested in the democratization of Rwanda. They are interested in taking power by force.

[Matulu] What prompts you to think that it is the Belgians and the Ugandans who are behind the rebels?

[Sengegera] The case of Uganda has been proven, because the attack on Rwanda on 1 October 1990 was perpetrated by elements who illegally came from the Army of President Museveni. They attacked us with full logistical support from the Ugandan Army. Subsequent attacks were supported by Uganda, sometimes with the direct intervention of Ugandan soldiers, which seems to be the present case in this current phase of the war. Concerning the Belgians, we note the shift in their policy towards Rwanda, to the point of undertaking this shameful and ignominious plot against the heads of state—against President Habyarimana and his Burundian counterpart. There may be other interested parties in the plot who we have not discovered, but certain Belgians—I repeat certain Belgians—are involved in the current war imposed on Rwanda. I would also like to stress that in the current clashes in Kigali there have been found in certain localities the dead bodies of some white foreign nationals who were killed as they fought alongside the RPF.

[Matulu] Yes, but tell me, why do you maintain that it is the Belgians who shot down the plane, especially three Belgian soldiers? And what evidence have you to substantiate this?

[Sengegera] The evidence? First there is the place from which the missiles were shot.

[Matulu] From where were the missiles shot?

[Sengegera] They were shot from near the Kanombe Airport, from a place called Massaka, near Kanombe Airport. So, we spotted where the shots came from, and I can even confirm that the three were immediately arrested by UNAMIR police and collected by the Rwandan Army. Another fact: Security at Kanombe International Airport in Kigali was ensured by the Belgian contingent, in line with the UNAMIR peace mission. So, you see, at this level there was a lot of complicity. I am also telling you that at the landing strip the pilot of the presidential plane was told to fly around twice because—I don't know—the plot was probably still being prepared, but the pilot thought that this was for technical reasons, whereas it was for other sinister designs.

[Matulu] Are the three Belgians soldiers who were arrested still alive?

[Sengegera] They were immediately shot dead by the angry Rwandan soldiers.

[Matulu] So, you are saying that they were among the 10 Belgian UN peacekeepers who were killed a few minutes after the assassination—to repeat your own words—of the two presidents.

[Sengegera] Indeed, the three were among the dozen Belgian soldiers killed in Kigali during this outburst of violence. It seems, I repeat seems, that Belgium organized special funeral rights for three soldiers last week, and I think that it was these three soldiers who carried out the attack on Presidents Habyarimana and Ntaryamira.

[Matulu] Mr. Ambassador, according to reports, Belgium is said to have sold arms to the RPF. As the legal representative of the Rwandan Government, do you have this same information?

[Sengegera] I have received the same information, but have not been able to verify it myself because really it is not this piece of information that interests me, as far as my work is concerned. However, it seems the RPF has bought huge quantities of military equipment from Belgium on credit. This might probably explain a certain attitude by Belgium, which considers that if the RPF does not come into power, we will be done for, if you excuse me the expression, so, we cannot be paid back. This may partially explain what has been done.

But, as I said, there are probably other objectives that are not directed just at Rwanda, as far as the attitude and position of the Belgians are concerned. There is also another point that does not surprise us. You know, Belgium has just withdrawn its contingent from the UNAMIR mission, but the Belgians at first strongly insisted that they should be supported on the ground with armor, helicopters, and a huge deployment of forces. Kigali airport was in their hands and functioning. One wonders whether this evacuation plan by land toward Tanzania was not to serve as a support operation for the RPF. But obviously, the Rwandan Government,

which was conscious of the danger, strongly opposed this. They left by air. It happened, because we thought the worst might happen. Perhaps the Belgians were even planning a scenario that is not [word indistinct] from the earlier one—cut the (Rufumo) Bridge, which links us with Tanzania and which has since October 1990 virtually been the only land route for international trade exchanges for Rwanda and Zaire. [passage omitted]

[Matulu] Mr. Ambassador, we have this information—which is not a rumor—that the Belgians are sympathetic to the RPF and that this led the Belgians to facilitate the infiltration of RPF soldiers into Kigali, the Rwandan capital? Can you confirm this?

[Sengegera] Yes I can confirm this. There are many Belgians who are married to Rwandans, and this may sometimes explain this sympathetic attitude on the part of the Belgians. Apart from this, I would like to recall that it was agreed under the Arusha Accord that the RPF was authorized to station a contingent of 600 soldiers in Kigali on the premises of the parliament in Kigali. These fighters were supposedly in Rwanda in line with the mission to protect and ensure the security of the RPF political leaders who were to participate in the transition, in both the new government and in parliament. But we realized that in fact this battalion was getting bigger and bigger due to infiltrations facilitated by the Belgian contingent of the UNAMIR. They sent convoys to their headquarters in the north of the country near the Ugandan border in Mulindi, supposedly to get wood supplies, but in fact they brought back artillery—or rather soldiers—who were infiltrated into Kigali. This occurred to the extent that certain sources reported that the RPF did not have 600 fighters in Kigali, but instead more like 3,000 soldiers. [passage omitted]

[Matulu] Mr. Ambassador, it seems that on the ground—I do not know if you have some information on this—the RPF has the upper hand?

[Sengegera] That is just media publicity. I think that this is misinformation to try and demoralize people. This situation is different from the presentations in the Western media, notably with all the noise and manipulations orchestrated by certain Western journalists who favor the RPF. The situation is quite different on the ground. The RPF does not control.... [pauses] Sometimes, we were even told that the RPF had managed to bring down 20,000 soldiers to join their battalion in the capital. That is not true. The RPF only controls one strategic position in Kigali. We have dislodged them from all the major positions which they were able to occupy. Of course, the situation is constantly changing, but as we speak now the Rwandan Armed Forces control the situation both in Kigali and in the north of the country near the Ugandan border.

[Matulu] Well, Mr. Ambassador, Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi has just offered to mediate between the interim government and the RPF. How do you view prospects for this mediation?

[Sengegera] The Rwandan authorities will accept any arrangements which might contribute to the restoration of peace in Rwanda. It is in this context that they are prepared to consider whether the proposal made by the Tanzanian leader will succeed. We can also think of other political and more consistent interventions, notably through the Economic Community of Great Lakes Countries. The doors are open, but I would like to point out that concerning efforts for a cease-fire, the RPF has adopted the strategy of bidding higher every day, even refusing cease-fire proposals made by UNAMIR. We, the Rwandan authorities, are open to dialogue which would lead to the return of peace in Rwanda and the restoration of a true climate of peace. So, the Tanzanian offer is welcome in that context without excluding other possible mediation offers, which could be made at other levels by the true friends of Rwanda.

[Matulu, interrupting] Thank you. One last question, please.

[Sengegera, interrupting] Concerning efforts to pacify the country, I would like to stress that one of the cardinal missions assigned to the interim government is to ensure—after this unfortunate criminal plot which decapitated our country and the resulted in the tragic death of Prime Minister Uwilingiyimana—a return to peace in Rwanda. A government has been formed and the president of the Republic assumed office in line with the June 1991 Rwandan Constitution, which legalized multiparty politics in our country. The interim government has six weeks to work for peace in Rwanda, but of course we cannot make the peace by ourselves. We will try to make peace with those who are at war with us, and who are fighting with the support of Uganda and other foreign powers.

#### **RPF Reportedly Controls Main Roads to Tanzania, Uganda**

EA2004162694 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura in English to Rwanda 1100 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Excerpts] As the Rwandese Patriotic Army continues its campaign against the forces of dictatorship, the town of Byumba has fallen to the Rwandese Patriotic Army [RPA]. The soldiers from the government forces have been flushed out and they are now fleeing in disarray.

The Rwandese Patriotic Army has also liberated the whole of Mutara area and part of (Buganza). In this area the Rwandese Patriotic Army has taken an important road junction of Kayonza and from here the RPA has taken control of the road leading to Rusumo in Tanzania and the Kakitumba Road in Uganda. The only getaway to the outside world now accessible to the government forces comes through Burundi and Zaire. Ruhengeri town has been sieged by the Rwandese Patriotic Army and the government forces may be flushed out any time.

And in Kigali, fighting continues between the RPA and the government forces. The Rwandese Patriotic Army has taken a number of strategic areas in and around



Kigali. The RPA in Kigali is mainly preoccupied with rescuing people who are being hunted down by the Presidential Guards. [passage omitted]

The campaign by the RPA continues.

### **UNAMIR Confirms RPF Captures Byumba**

*AB2104101094 Paris AFP in English 0912 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[Excerpt] Nairobi, 21 Apr (AFP)—The UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) confirmed Thursday [21 April] that rebel forces had captured the northern town of Byumba, as fighting and ethnic killing continued in the east African nation. The Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) had announced the capture of Byumba, about 35 kilometers (20 miles) north of the capital Kigali, the Mutura area in the northeast and part of the eastern Buganza area in radio reports. Pro-rebel Radio Muhabura also claimed that the rebels had made gains in Kigali and surrounded the northwestern town of Ruhengeri, where it said government troops could be "flushed out any time."

A UNAMIR spokesman, contacted by telephone from Nairobi, said he could confirm the Byumba capture but there was not enough information to comment on the other claims. "Yes, I can confirm (Byumba), I have seen the reports of our observers," he said, adding that there had been sporadic artillery and small arms fire in Kigali Thursday morning in the eastern part of the city. The spokesman, who asked not to be identified by name, said sporadic small arms and mortar fire were continuing in the eastern party of the capital Thursday.

The official Rwandan Army admitted earlier this week that a column of around 1,000 RPF reinforcements passing through the Byumba region had managed to link up with the 600 RPF soldiers stationed in Kigali under the terms of an earlier peace agreement. [passage omitted]

### **More Westerners Evacuated to Nairobi**

*LD2104095994 Brussels Radio Vlaanderen International in English 0900 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[Excerpts] In the Central African country of Rwanda, a Belgian and a Spanish transport aircraft have evacuated another 29 Westerners from a mission station near the town of Butare. The evacuees were 18 Spanish and French nuns and 11 observers of the United Nations. They were airlifted to the Kenyan capital, Nairobi. Two Spanish nuns are reported to have refused evacuation.

According to the medical charity Doctors Without Borders [Medecins Sans Frontieres], Butare is the scene of intense bloodshed. Yesterday dozens of injured people were brought to the hospital in the center of the town, where a doctor of the aid organization is operating. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, the repatriation of Belgian Blue Berets who took part in the United Nations mission in Rwanda is continuing. All soldiers should be back in Belgium by this evening. Currently there are still about 300 Belgian Blue Berets in the Kenyan capital, Nairobi. [passage omitted] Besides the remaining Belgian Blue Berets in Nairobi, our country also has 800 paratroopers in the Kenyan capital. They will stay in Kenya in view of the tense situation in Burundi. [passage omitted]

### **Rebels Call on Government Armed Forces To Join RPA**

*EA2004200894 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura in English to Rwanda 1100 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Announcement by the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) High Command to members of the Rwandan Government Armed Forces; issued in Mulindi on 18 April]

[Excerpts] Members of the Armed Forces of Rwanda, members of the national Gendarmerie, fellow countrymen, sons and daughters of our common motherland. Following the death of the head of state, President Juvenal Habyarimana at the hands of the clique opposed to the Arusha peace agreement and determined to maintain the grip of dictatorship on our country, that clique, using members of the Presidential Guard, Interahamwe and Impuzamigambi, the militias of CDR [Coalition for the Defense of the Republic] and MRND [Republican National Movement for Democracy and Development] parties, and some members of the regular army and gendarmerie, turned against sections of the civilian population, considered by MRND and CDR as opponents, and tried to completely exterminate them instigating the violence with ethnic sectarianism. [passage omitted]

We call upon you once again to take very urgent steps to preserve yourselves from the imminent destruction towards which the clique of murderers is pushing you. Let us join hands, instead, in shoving that clique from power.

We repeat our assurances that we shall not attack any member of the government Armed Forces who do not fight us.

We also call upon you members of the Armed Forces of Rwanda to stop discarding your uniforms and disguising yourselves in civilian population. Come out confidently and rest assured that you will be treated honorably as appropriate instructions have already been communicated to all the authorities concerned, regarding the manner of the reception. Our desire is that we shall in due course cooperate in forming a new national army responsible for maintaining public security.

In order to avoid the recurrent [word indistinct] bloodshed in our country, let he who has ears hear, let he who has eyes see. We have no doubt whatsoever that the majority amongst you have the wisdom and foresight to take the correct decision now. Thank you.



Signed, Major General Paul Kagame, Chairman,  
Rwandan Patriotic Army High Command.

[Dated] 18 April, Mulindi

**RPF Questions Usefulness of Talks With  
Government**

*EA2004164094 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura in  
English to Rwanda 1100 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Excerpts] Reports from across the country indicate that large-scale massacres of innocent citizens continue unabated. [passage omitted]

The Republic of Tanzania too has expressed its serious concern over the situation in Rwanda and indicated that it is planning to convene a meeting between the Rwandese Patriotic Army and Rwanda Government forces in Arusha this coming weekend. [passage omitted]

For the record, the response of the Rwandese Government Forces to the above [cease-fire] conditions has been negative. Much has [word indistinct] in the outside world may hope from negotiations between the Rwandese Patriotic Army and the Rwandese Government Forces, it is doubtful that the negotiations between the two forces under the current circumstances would be of any use, if at all possible. What is the point, some ask, of such dialogue with the Rwandese Government Forces

when large parts of that army have joined hands with the Presidential Guard and other murderers in committing acts of genocide. Of what use are negotiations with the Rwandese Government forces as long as the Rwandese Government Forces still obstinately refuse to agree to the disbanding and punishment of the Presidential Guard, after all the carnage and destruction which the Presidential Guard has caused. Is there any hope of an [word indistinct] agreement with the Rwandese Government Forces when they still refuse to disassociate themselves and deny legitimacy to the self-styled provisional government extremists which (?usurped) political power and is masterminding the ongoing atrocities. And what moral rights or legal rights does the 40,000-plus-strong army have to demand negotiations to determine the future of this country while they have stood by and still stand by on the fence, after two weeks, while hundreds of thousands of defenseless (?people) are slaughtered? Is there any hope of (?resolving) this conflict with the Rwandese Government Forces while they allow free rein to the clique of extremist murders who have [words indistinct] power, who use government resources, including arms and weapons [words indistinct], in exterminating whole sections of the population and boast about it in public as Mbonampeka Stanislas, (Donate Murego), Justin Mugenzi and Mathieu Ndirumpatse were doing the whole of yesterday on state radio.

**Tanzania****President Meets With Rwandans; Urges Cease-Fire***AB2004224094 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania Network in Swahili 1700 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] President Ali Hassan Mwinyi has urged both parties in the Rwandan conflict to implement an immediate cease-fire and initiate talks to implement the Arusha Accord, which was endorsed last year.

President Mwinyi reiterated this advice during separate talks at State House in Dar es Salaam today, when he met with delegations from the Rwandan Government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF].

He said the meeting, which Tanzania will be convening in Arusha on 23 April, seeks to give the warring sides in Rwanda a chance to end the civil war and to consider ways for immediately implementing the Arusha Accord.

Speaking to Rwandan Home Affairs Minister Faustin Munyazesa, who was heading his government's delegation, President Mwinyi stressed that the delay in the implementation of the Arusha Peace Accord had led to the eruption of war and slaughter in Rwanda. He said the only solution was for all the parties to implement a cease-fire, end the killings, and discuss the implementation of the Arusha Accord.

President Mwinyi assured the first vice chairman of the RPF, Mr. Patrick Mazimpaka, that next Saturday's meeting in Arusha did not aim to begin new talks on a peace agreement, but to discuss feasible ways of implementing the accord in the context of the new political situation in Rwanda.

He emphasized that the Rwandan crisis was political, and hence called for a political, not a military, solution.

Mr. Mazimpaka assured President Mwinyi that the RPF's objective was to halt the killings so that the Arusha Accord could be implemented, not to take over power through the barrel of the gun.

**OAU Supports Efforts***EA2004205994 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia in English to Neighboring Countries 1530 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] The OAU secretary general, Salim Ahmed Salim, has expressed support for the initiative taken by President Mwinyi of Tanzania to convene a peace conference on Rwanda.

In a press statement yesterday, Mr. Salim said the meeting in Arusha is expected to bring together representatives of the Rwanda Government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front as well as representatives of the observer countries and international organizations. He said that the government of Tanzania, as facilitator, is proposing this conference with two main items on the agenda: ceasefire and the implementation of the Arusha peace agreement.

Mr. Salim called on the UN Security Council to continue to provide the necessary support to involve the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda to effectively carry out its mandate. He also appealed to the international community, including nongovernmental organizations to provide increased and adequate resources to cater for the thousands of affected persons in Rwanda.

**Minister Affirms Borders With Rwanda Secure***EA2004211694 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania Network in Swahili 1700 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] The minister of state in the office of the president responsible for defense and national service, the Honorable Abdulrahman Kinana, has assured Tanzanians and foreign residents living and working along the Tanzania-Rwanda border that security is under control, and that there is no cause for alarm. Mr. Kinana was speaking during his two-day visit to areas along the borders with Rwanda and Burundi, where emergency measures have been taken to ensure security following the current killings in Rwanda.

During the visit, Mr. Kinana was briefed on the prevailing situation in Rwanda, where members of the Tutsi tribe were being killed, and saw hundreds of dead bodies floating in the Kagera River, which separates Tanzania from Rwanda.

### **Buthelezi To Head IFP National Candidate List**

*MB2004133394 Johannesburg Radio South Africa  
Network in English 1100 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] Senior IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] members have been working nonstop since 3 o'clock yesterday afternoon to prepare candidate lists for participation in the election before 6 o'clock tonight.

A Transvaal IFP spokesman, Mr. Hennie Bekker, told the Afrikaans radio news program, Monitor, that although provisional lists had been drawn up some time ago, numerous candidates had to be confirmed before the national and regional lists could be finalized. He said Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi would head the national list, but that the decision had to be taken within the next few hours on whether he would head the kwaZulu-Natal regional list. Mr. Bekker suggested that the IEC [Independent Electoral Commission] consider installing polling booths in what he termed beleaguered hostels in Thokoza.

### **To Begin Campaign in Empangeni**

*MB2004143894 Johannesburg Radio South Africa  
Network in English 1400 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is to begin his election campaign officially at Enseleni township near Empangeni tomorrow. The leader of the IFP in the area, Mr. Blessed Gwala, said the meeting would draw crowds from Enseleni and adjacent areas. Transport for supporters has been arranged.

### **Mdlalose To Run for Natal Premiership**

*MB2004181894 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1655  
GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Report by Michel Schnehage]

[Text] Durban Apr 20 SAPA—Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] National Chairman Frank Mdlalose will stand as candidate for the premiership in kwaZulu/Natal, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported on Wednesday [20 April]. The announcement was made by the IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi at a mass meeting in Ulundi. The party's full list of candidates had to be handed to the Independent Electoral Commission in Johannesburg by Wednesday night. Mr Buthelezi heads the party's national election list.

### **Buthelezi Promises To Accept Election Results**

*MB2004161094 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1551  
GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] Ulundi April 20 SAPA—Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] President Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Wednesday [20 April] he would accept the results of South Africa's first all-race election next week if they were endorsed by the international community.

Addressing a short media conference in Ulundi after his first election rally in the kwaZulu capital, Mr Buthelezi said: "One must accept that whatever the international monitors say will be it—whatever one's feelings may be."

On the IFP's election candidate lists, Mr Buthelezi said these were still being drafted. He however "assumed" he would head the party list for the National Assembly. "As national leader of the party I have to be on the national list. One can't appear on both," he said in response to a question on whether he was eyeing the kwaZulu Natal premiership position.

The IFP president was at pains to point out that his party had decided to contest the poll just 24 hours earlier and was still in the process of preparing its nomination lists.

### **KwaZulu Pledges 'Full Support' to IEC**

*MB2004204594 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1913  
GMT 20 Apr 94*

[By Craig Doonan]

[Text] Ulundi April 20 SAPA—The kwaZulu government has pledged its full support to ensure an additional 500 voting stations are established in the territory before the elections, according to Independent Electoral Commission [IEC] Vice-chairman Dikgang Moseneke.

Addressing the media after a five-hour meeting with the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi on Wednesday [20 April], Mr Moseneke said a tough job awaited the IEC in the six days remaining before the elections.

But he added the IEC would try its "damndest" to ensure it was prepared for elections in the region. "It's going to be very tough. We are going to have to work very hard. We will literally have to camp in kwaZulu/Natal," he said.

In contrast to the hostile reception afforded IEC Chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler last month, Mr Moseneke said the IEC had been met with "nothing less than co-operation in all areas". "We are delighted to serve this region without any impediments... We generally reached agreement on all aspects pertaining to voter preparation."

IEC Commissioner Charles Nupen explained that an extra 500 polling stations had to be set up to supplement the 1,000 already planned. Another 13,000 people had to be trained to staff the new polling stations.

He said there would be intensive training courses at the weekend, adding this required "a hell of a degree of commitment".

Mr Moseneke added that traditional chiefs had also given their full support to the IEC's voter education programme provided they were informed of the IEC's presence in their areas. This was in stark contrast to the



blatant rejection by some chiefs in the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly of Mr Justice Kriegler's request for similar co-operation last month.

Mr Moseneke said the kwaZulu government had pledged its full co-operation including the use of human resources, transport and other logistic requirements.

The kwaZulu Police would be involved in securing polling stations.

#### **Buthelezi Denies IFP Plans To Enter Into Alliance**

*MB2004154994 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1500 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi says the party has no plans to enter into an alliance with another party. Speaking to reporters on his arrival at a rally outside the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly at Ulundi, Dr. Buthelezi admitted that there was little time left for the IFP to campaign. He said this would make it difficult for the party to reach out to all its followers and that it could be a setback. Tens of thousands of IFP supporters are gathered outside the assembly to listen to Dr. Buthelezi.

#### **Says Violence Should Decrease**

*MB2004151894 Johannesburg SABA in English 1340 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Report by C. Doonan]

[Text] Ulundi April 20 SABA—Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] President Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Wednesday [20 April] he had joined South Africa's electoral process to save the country from disaster and to contribute to peace. Interviewed before he addressed more than 10,000 jubilant IFP supporters in the kwaZulu capital Ulundi, Mr Buthelezi said although he did not think the IFP's participation in national elections would lead to an immediate reduction in violence "the proportion of violence will be less".

He said it would be naive to believe Inkatha's participation in elections would mean an end to violence "but it should decrease because tensions are less". "It will be difficult to imagine that all tension can vanish in a few days...we would hope tension will somehow be decreased."

He said he had asked State President F W de Klerk to lift the state of emergency only to be told that his advisers had suggested he impose the emergency in other volatile parts of the country.

Asked whether he expected to fare well in next week's elections he said he did not want to "prophecy...that will be tested." "Some of our offices can't cope with the number of people joining," he added.

Mr Buthelezi said his late entry into the election race would hamper the IFP's performance. He said voter education had not reached all of his supporters and "this indicates it could well affect the percentage (of support)".

Asked why he had entered elections at this late stage, the chief minister replied: "I did so to save the country from disaster and to contribute to peace."

The IFP president was later received by cheering crowds outside the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly building.

#### **Addresses Thousands at Rally**

*MB2004160994 Johannesburg SABA in English 1545 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Report by C. Doonan]

[Text] Ulundi April 20 SABA—Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] President Mangosuthu Buthelezi was received as a hero by about 10,000 jubilant supporters in Ulundi on Wednesday [20 March] at his first rally in support of next week's elections.

The mood in the kwaZulu capital throughout Wednesday was one of excitement and celebration, following the IFP's decision on Tuesday to contest the country's first all-race poll.

Thousands of singing and dancing IFP supporters streamed through central Ulundi during the day, before gathering outside the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly building to hear Mr Buthelezi's first pro-election address. "Who is the president of South Africa?" an official asked the excited crowd, which responded with a resounding: "Shenge (Mr Buthelezi's clan name)."

The crowd sang, danced and ululated in a jubilant celebration of the impending election.

Despite being three hours late Mr Buthelezi arrived to overwhelming cheers. In his address he acknowledged there was little time for electioneering, but said: "Miracles may still happen." He urged his followers not to be complacent, but to face the "biggest hurdle which is the election".

The IFP president said he had been serving his people for 40 years and "now that my dream is coming true, I hope you will allow me to complete my job by electing me".

The IFP had joined the elections to save the country from disaster and to contribute to peace, he said. The IFP's participation in national elections would not lead to an immediate reduction in violence but the "proportion of violence will be less," he added.

The party's late entry into the elections would hamper its performance because voter education had not reached all his supporters.

Asked whether he expected to fare well in next week's elections, Mr Buthelezi said he did not want to predict what would happen, but added "that will be tested". "Some of our offices can't cope with the number of people joining," Mr Buthelezi said.

He later told a news conference he would accept the results of South Africa's first all-race [passage indistinct]. "One must accept that whatever the international monitors say will be it—whatever one's feelings may be."

On the IFP's election candidate lists, Mr Buthelezi said these were still being drafted. He however "assumed" he would head the party list for the national assembly. "As national leader of the party I have to be on the national list. One can't appear on both," he said in response to a question on whether he was eyeing the kwaZulu Natal premiership position.

#### IFP, ANC, IEC Officials View Election Participation

MB2004201994 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1830 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Interview with IFP Central Committee member Ben Ngubane, ANC official Mac Maharaj, and IEC Commissioner Ben van der Ross by announcer John Bishop in the Johannesburg studio—live]

[Text] [Bishop] A very good evening to you. First the big news of the day. The Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] will take part in next week's historic election. That momentous agreement was reached earlier today at the meeting between the IFP's chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, National Party's F.W. de Klerk, and the ANC's Nelson Mandela. Thank you all very much gentlemen for coming.

Starting with you, Dr. Ngubane. Just briefly, the talks that you backed down last week—the international mediators went home—and here you are in this situation. How did it happen?

[Ngubane] Well, fortunately, the negotiations continued after the mediators had left for their countries. Professor Okumu of Kenya carried on negotiations between Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Dr. Mandela, and President de Klerk; and sooner or later consensus emerged as to the way forward.

[Bishop] Yes, Mr. Maharaj, how are you reading this now, this question was put in our new bulletin—victory or defeat for whom?

[Maharaj] I think it's an unqualified victory for the people of our country—all our people, black and white across the board. I think South Africa today was able to breathe a sigh of relief at the breakthrough that was made through this agreement. I do not think we should look at the matter from the point of view of winners and losers. Political commentators will talk about strategies, failed strategies, and bad strategies. The important thing is that South Africa now is faced with an election which is really

inclusive. It has been achieved in injury time, but still a try scored in injury time is a try.

[Bishop] I've heard that somewhere before. Pik Botha said it, that's right. Let's move to you, Mr. van der Ross. The meat and potatoes, the bread and butter question. Eighteen million ballots now to have IFP added to them. How are you going to do it?

[Van der Ross] Well, with a lot of elbow grease, of course. The whole logistics of being able to provide at this very late stage for an effective accommodation of a new player is truly going to be very problematic and very difficult, but we have mobilized immediately a sort of an A-team into the field, they are already in kwaZulu working with our local team there. We've got a back-up team back in the head office working right at this moment on developing strategies for all the different elements of the election. On the basis of the work we have done today already it does look as if it's possible to put it together.

[Bishop] Now sticking physically IFP at the bottom of the form, that will probably raise some legal questions there?

[Van der Ross] No, the act and the regulations will be changed to accommodate all of the necessary. There are a number of issues that will need to be changed, but obviously with the cooperation of all the parties this is going to be possible.

[Bishop] Mr. Maharaj, the amendments that have to be made now. What do they look like?

[Maharaj] The amendments are being drafted since this afternoon. They will be put to the negotiating council tomorrow. The amendments to the constitution are fairly straight forward. They simply are an amendment to two clauses, one, a constitutional principle; and the other one is Section 160 which provides that in the case of provincial constitutions, and specifically in the case of kwaZulu/Natal, there shall be provision for the Zulu monarch.

[Bishop] Dr. Ngubane, now what has happened? What is the situation with King Zwelithini and the Zulu nation, and how are you reading that?

[Ngubane] Well, the king was worried when it became clear that a federal dispensation will not be achieved in this country. So self-determination for his people, for his kingdom was going to be totally wiped off the political process. So he demanded that the sovereignty of the Zulu Kingdom should be restored, and the kingdom itself recognized. We worked hard at negotiating this position, and now it is going to be enshrined both in the national constitution, and it will be made mandatory for the provincial constitution of kwaZulu/Natal—to enshrine that as well.

[Bishop] Nevertheless it remains as part of the greater whole, doesn't it?

[Ngubane] Certainly, it's part of a greater South Africa, but allowing for the different communities to achieve what we can call a fair measure of self-determination.

[Bishop] What do you say Mr. Maharaj?

[Maharaj] I do not think that the provision speaks in any way about sovereignty. What the provision says is that the constitution of Natal shall provide a place for the Zulu monarch. That will be left to the legislature, and it will be left to the mediation process to resolve precisely in what form and to what extent the matter is dealt with. But I think that nonetheless it is important that the provision has led to similar space being made in other provinces where there may be a monarch.

[Bishop] Now back to you, Dr. Ngubane. Now the Zulu supporters, the supporters indeed, not just Zulu, of the IFP. Are they going to get the message quickly that you are on board now?

[Ngubane] Well, we've been very much primed for elections all along. We have an election campaign which has been working incessantly. We never opposed election as a matter of just opposing it. We wanted to have a dispensation that we could live with, that could have meaning to the lives of our people, and that has been achieved, and we are ready to go.

[Bishop] But when you say ready to go, I mean, only a week ago you were saying no go, and I suppose that message got through—all over the place where there are IFP supporters. Now you will have to say go, go, go.

[Ngubane] Well, our people are highly motivated, highly politicized, and they will respond accordingly.

[Maharaj] I do think that the public have been faced with confused signals coming from the Inkatha Freedom Party, and perhaps I would ascribe that to poor tactics and strategy, because it is very important that while politicians are seen to be people who make glib promises, it is very important as people who have fought for freedom that our promises should be real and should be consistent. And I believe that that's a crucial element in winning voter support.

[Bishop] Dr. Ngubane, would you comment there?

[Ngubane] Well, I mean, Mac is (?skirting) the whole ball game here. He was one of the people who made it impossible for us to be part of the process from the word go by the intransigence that they adopted in the negotiating process. Thank God that sense has prevailed at last. So, we have never promised anything that was not attainable. What we wanted was a federal dispensation for this country which the negotiation process was quite capable of addressing, but it was stopped from doing so.

[Bishop] Alright, let's move on now, if we may, to violence. The whole country, I suppose, is screaming out: Let's stop it, stop it, stop it! What steps are both parties, the ANC and the IFP taking, like really, to go and stop this now?

[Ngubane] Well, the agreement states very clearly that it is an agreement for reconciliation and peace in South Africa, and all the signatories commit themselves, pledge themselves to work for peaceful and free elections. So it is going to have to be a truly combined effort. No one party can do it on its own.

[Bishop] The mass action now? Inkatha youth, are they going to march or not?

[Ngubane] Well, the cause for mass action is removed, as far as we are concerned?

[Bishop] Will the message get through?

[Ngubane] Well, it is getting through right now because there was no mass action yesterday, today, and tomorrow, so the message is getting through.

[Bishop] Another question for you at the moment, Dr. Ngubane...

[Maharaj, interrupting] I think that on the question of violence the country has certainly gone past the point where the threat of violence to the electoral process, which was perceived at one time as a very serious and formidable threat, has now been reduced, in my estimate by about 75 percent from what it was two months ago. The events which brought Bophuthatswana fully—the people of Bophuthatswana into the electoral process, the break up of the white right, as well as the coming in of the IFP, have reduced that potential for violence immensely, and I believe that if we work at it with a will—all parties—we can, certainly shortly after the elections, through national unity establish peace in our country.

[Bishop] Right, one more for you before I move on a little bit, Dr. Ngubane. The imbizo [meeting], gathering of Zulus called by His Majesty the king, will it go ahead?

[Ngubane] Well, I don't know yet, but His Majesty has called the imbizo to mark a sad moment in our history, where we were being stripped of our identity and our possessions and so on—now, I don't know whether that precise condition still exists or not.

[Maharaj] My understanding of the matter is slightly different. We did consult His Majesty in the course of the negotiations, and he indicated that the press reports were not within his knowledge, that he would be looking into the matter, and certainly he has issued a statement now calling upon his subjects to participate in the elections. So I believe that now, since it was called according to press reports for the 26th, 27th, 28th, that matter will no longer intrude on the electoral process and the elections will go on.

[Bishop] Well, let's stay with King Zwelithini. Dr. Ngubane, what is his status now?

[Ngubane] Well, he is recognized as the constitutional monarch in terms of our present kwaZulu constitution. He has a function in the Legislative Assembly, he is the head of the whole indigenous law system, he is the head



of the amakhosi [chiefs], and he occupies a position of unity in terms of our nation.

[Bishop] And the obvious next one, Chief Buthelezi, what's his position?

[Ngubane] Well, he is the traditional prime minister to the king, but he is also the elected head of government of kwaZulu.

[Bishop] There has been a news rumor—let's put it no more than that—for the last couple of weeks, that Chief Buthelezi was offered even a deputy presidency, a cabinet position, even if the IFP did not score well at the polls. True or false?

[Ngubane] No, I have not heard of such an offer. I think Dr. Buthelezi is a democrat. He will work hard to lead out party to victory so that they will be no offers, but he will get what is his due in terms of the constitutional provisions.

[Bishop] Mr. Maharaj?

[Maharaj] Certainly no such offer has been made from our side. What we have consistently said is, and in promoting the idea of a government of national unity, is that on the basis of the electoral results, we will do everything to accord all the parties a proper place in that government. We believe that the next five years centrally require a trust of national unity. We are coming from a conflict ridden, hate ridden society, and we have an immense job of reconstruction, so we made no such offer, except to say that each party believes it is important, has immense electoral support. The elections will test that, and on the basis of that test each will be accorded a proper place in that government of national unity.

[Bishop] That means what?

[Maharaj] It means if any party wins five percent of seats in the National Assembly, it qualifies for one seat in the cabinet, and in proportion to the higher percentage of number of seats it has in the assembly, it will get the requisite seats in the cabinet. So that if a party won 60 percent of the seats, it will have 60 percent of the cabinet.

[Bishop] Mr. Van der Ross, I know you are not going to engage, obviously, in the political discourse, but there are some more questions for you, very quickly. One concerns the safety of your monitors and their ability to get to places. How confident are you that this can happen, I don't think in particular in Natal/kwaZulu, of course?

[Van der Ross] Well, we are certainly looking to the kwaZulu authorities to provide both the message and the cover for the climate for our people to be able to move freely through the territory. If we are to set up machinery we need to, within a very short space of time, a few days, if we are to move in with massive voter education programs which we are planning, we can only do that with complete cooperation from the authorities. But we

are pretty certain that it is obviously in the interests of Inkatha, and through that possibly the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly, to give that kind of assistance, and I am sure we will get it.

[Bishop] They will, Dr. Ngubane? They'll get this support?

[Ngubane] They certainly will. We've always pledged support for the IEC.

[Bishop] What's the situation about the state of emergency, or partial state of emergency, the National Peacekeeping Force? Couple of questions there in one? What's going to be the attitude now?

[Ngubane] We have not really addressed that issue. We do accept that it's anachronistic to say you're going to have free and fair elections while you have a state of emergency. We have stated that position. But nevertheless we need to maintain the highest levels of law and order and peace during the election process.

[Bishop] There might be loose canons there outside your control.

[Ngubane] That's what forces of law and order are there for. That is a job really for the security forces.

[Bishop] And the National Peacekeeping Force—is it going to be recognized as for what it has been set up there—to maintain peace as a national force?

[Ngubane] We've had problems with the constitution of the National Peacekeeping Force because it's taken in what I would call party-political people and pretended to turn them into a national peacekeeping force which will be above prejudice and impartial. We doubt that people who have been trained as political guerrilla forces can perform such a function.

[Maharaj] Let me say this about the state of emergency. It was imposed because of the violence and the loss of life. If that continues, I believe that this agreement will contribute substantially to reducing that violence. But the violence is totally unacceptable. Yesterday the death of a leading photographer, Ken Oosterbroek, threw South Africa into a shock. Any more deaths are unacceptable. So the state of emergency has been motivated by that need, and at present, while the agreement holds promise, the reality is that the violence is ravaging that province, and we need to maintain it in such a way that free political activity can take place actively.

[Bishop] Thank you very much. Just a reminder that, of course we've been talking to Mac Maharaj, Dr. Ben Ngubane, Mr. Van der Ross; and we did approach the National Party, unfortunately they've have an extremely busy political day and we could not get anybody here at this time. That is the reason why we don't see the National Party sitting with our other guests.

**IFP Return to Multiparty Negotiating Council***MB2004164094 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1531  
GMT 20 Apr 94***[Report by P. Bulger]**

[Text] Johannesburg April 20 SAPA—The Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] could not be treated with kid gloves because it was now a full participant in the election process, African National Congress Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa told the Multiparty Negotiating Council [MPNC] at the World Trade Centre on Wednesday [20 April].

Mr Ramaphosa welcomed IFP delegates back to the MPNC which was sitting to consider constitutional amendments on the future of Zulu king goodwill Zwelithini. The amendments were agreed upon by IFP President Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC President Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk on Tuesday.

While welcoming the IFP back, Mr Ramaphosa said the cost of the IFP's return had been high. He said up to 700 people had died in political violence since the IFP failed to follow through on its electoral registration last month. "The cost of bringing back the IFP into the election process has been very high for our people," Mr Ramaphosa said.

He said a statement by IFP negotiator Walter Felgate that the IFP had deliberately played hard to get until the latest possible moment and had been worth millions of rands, made his heart bleed.

South African Communist Party Chairman Joe Slovo said he hoped the IFP was entering the election with a view to accepting the results. In a reference to kwaZulu's separatist notions, Mr Slovo said a "Savimbi option had no future in South Africa.

Mr Felgate said the IFP was not entering the elections on a conditional basis and was totally committed to the electoral process. He said the IFP would work for peace and for a successful election. He said he had been quoted selectively about the publicity value of the IFP's strategy.

**Further on Council Meeting***MB2004182094 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1625  
GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] Johannesburg April 20 SAPA—The Multiparty Negotiating Council sitting at the World Trade Centre on Wednesday [20 April] unanimously accepted constitutional amendments enabling the Inkatha Freedom Party's participation in next week's election.

The amendment will be forwarded to Parliament for inclusion in the interim constitution. Parliament will also consider an amendment to the 13th constitutional principle on the position of the Zulu king.

The amendment was accepted together with a resolution committing all the parties to accepting the election results.

The amendment came about as a result of an agreement on Tuesday between President F W de Klerk, IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and African National Congress President Nelson Mandela.

It reads: "A provincial constitution may, where applicable, provide for the institution, role, authority and status of a traditional monarch in the province, and shall make such provision for the Zulu monarch in the case of the Province of Natal/kwaZulu".

The resolution on the elections committed all the parties to "free and fair elections and to doing everything to put a stop to the violence in our country".

"We will accept the results of the elections and will abide by the decision of the Independent Electoral Commission in respect of the fairness and freeness of the elections. We will not resort to violence under any circumstances in order to pursue political objectives," the resolution said.

Earlier both Mr Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer alleged that the IFP had settled for a lot less than was originally offered with regard to the Zulu king.

Mr Meyer said it was clear that the IFP had hoped to postpone the elections by its tactics.

IFP negotiator Walter Felgate said the IFP had acted not in its own narrow interests but in the interests of the entire country.

**TEC Approves Measures To Increase Number of Voters***MB2104114594 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1110  
GMT 21 Apr 94***[Report by P. Bulger]**

[Text] Pretoria April 21 SAPA—The Transitional Executive Council [TEC] on Thursday [21 April] approved a series of measures to increase the number of people eligible to vote in next week's elections. The council resolved that people who came to South Africa before June 13, 1986 but who under old legislation were denied the right to permanent residence and the right to vote, would be allowed to vote.

The National Union of Mineworkers had pointed out to the council that many of its members had been working in South Africa for decades but were not allowed to claim permanent residence.

Now, if they have been in the country for five years and if they arrived before June 13, 1986 they will be allowed to vote.

South African Communist Party Chairman Joe Slovo said the amendment put black migrant workers on a par with European migrants.

A second resolution amended the Electoral Act to allow homeland residents who are in possession of travel documents to vote. This amendment affects about one million people.

The Executive Council also passed amendments to allow the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) into the elections.

The substance of the amendments was agreed in trilateral talks involving the IFP, the African National Congress and the government earlier this week.

The Executive Council agreed to the amendment that will allow the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) to attach IFP stickers to ballot papers.

Joint executive secretary Mac Maharaj said the IEC was subjecting the sticker glue to stringent laboratory tests.

These tests would ensure the stickers did not come loose and fall off or cover the names of other parties in which case the ballot would be regarded as a spoilt vote.

The amendments will be proclaimed by President F W de Klerk and do not need to come before Parliament when it convenes on Monday.

#### **CP Leader Says Party Could Join Election Conditionally**

*MB2104085294 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0600 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[Text] In-depth talks between the Afrikaner Volksfront [AVF, Afrikaner National Front] and the Freedom Front could lead to both the Conservative Party [CP] and the volksfront taking part in the elections. This comes after Freedom Front Leader Constand Viljoen approached AVF president and CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg with proposals on participation at provincial level.

This morning, Dr. Hartzenberg said he would take part in the election only if certain conditions were included in the constitution. These include the guarantee of a volkstaat [homeland] if more than 800,000 voters cast their ballots in favor of as volkstaat at provincial level. The second condition is that the volkstaat be granted political independence but economic interdependence. If General Viljoen accepts Dr. Hartzenberg's proposals, he will approach the government and the ANC. Dr. Hartzenberg said Gen. Viljoen should withdraw from the election if the government and the ANC refuse to accept the proposals.

#### **Meyer: Amendment Not Possible**

*MB2104082094 Johannesburg SABA in English 0722 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[Report by A. Quintal]

[Text] Johannesburg April 21 SABA—Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer said on Thursday [21 April] there was no possibility of amending the constitution and that the right-wing had not approached the government in this regard. He was commenting in an interview with SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio on the possibility of the Conservative Party and Afrikaner Volksfront [AVF, Afrikaner National Front] participating in the election if certain conditions were met.

Mr Meyer said the idea of 800,000 votes indicating support for a volkstaat [homeland] was not viable because it would not be an indication of the locality of a volkstaat.

Referring to the right-wing's demand for independence, he said the government was not prepared to fragment South Africa. Self-determination could be aspired to within the framework of the existing constitution.

Mr Meyer said the right-wing already had what it wanted, which was why Gen Constand Viljoen was taking part in the election.

He suggested Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg link up with Gen Viljoen.

#### **De Klerk Confident About Future of Nation**

*MB2004104094 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 20 Apr 94 p 19*

[Interview with State President F.W. de Klerk by Richard Steyn, Shaun Johnson, and Chris Whitfield in the president's office in the Union Buildings; date not specified]

[Text]

#### **On whether he is still confident about the future.**

[De Klerk] I believe, I am confident, that we are going to succeed. There is no alternative, and in that sense I think this period will be written up as the period beginning a new era which launched South Africa as a very successful state and as a successful nation.

#### **On the fears of Afrikaners and other groups.**

[De Klerk] I believe the Afrikaner nation, and the Zulu nation and all other nations which form part of the greater whole of the South African nation, need not fear for their futures as entities. Already, in terms of the transitional constitution, there is a sufficient constitutional and legal base (to protect them). I believe that as long as there is a commitment among Afrikaner to cherish their language and their culture and traditions, the Afrikaner nation will continue to exist. And it can only exist in interaction with all other South Africans.



**On the folly of separatism.**

[De Klerk] I also believe that the new 34th principle (of the Interim Constitution), in conjunction with the others will lead to a dynamic negotiation about the strength of the position of the various cultural groups, nations in South Africa...however, I don't see the guarantee for the identity of Afrikaners or other nations existing in separatism in any way whatsoever. But I think there are various possibilities at which we could look within the framework of the constitution, as to how we could strengthen the security of people who feel strongly about their cultural identity. They are struggling with it, but in Belgium there are interesting examples as to what can be achieved.

**On a volkstaat. [Afrikaner homeland]**

[De Klerk] Rather than working for a volkstaat which is unachievable, I think Afrikaners and the Zulus and others should look specifically at other (constitutional) options to maintain their identity.

**On whether he would do anything differently with the benefit of hindsight.**

[De Klerk] On the major issues and the major decisions, I have no regrets. On some specifics, yes. With hindsight one would have done certain things differently, approached negotiations about a specific issue maybe differently...things which wasted time. But on major issues no regrets. I would have taken the same decisions, I would have made the same speech on the 2nd of February, I would have called the referendum, I would have abolished the apartheid laws and I would have worked for the type of constitution which we now have.

**On the Interim Constitution.**

[De Klerk] I'm happy with the constitution, basically satisfied. It's not perfect, I think it can be improved, but on all the goals which we spelt out in the referendum, we have basically achieved them. We stated 14 principles, departure points, call them what you will. And all 14 are there, in some instances to 100 percent satisfaction, in a few instances we got 120 percent—we actually started out setting our sight a little bit lower but we got more. In other instances maybe 80 percent, but substantially we have achieved those 14 goals which we strove for. The transitional constitution and the principles, I think, lay a sound basis for the right type of constitution for South Africa.

**On whether he has considered stepping down.**

[De Klerk] No, I don't lie awake at night. Really, I haven't thought about it, I have been working so hard. And can I say that, honestly, in the government of national unity I will be number one, even if I happen to come second in the election. I will be number one for the millions of people who are going to vote for me. I will be there representing them in my own right, I won't be there as anybody's number two man.

**On the possibility of being deputy president.**

[De Klerk] If I was to be number two in the hierarchy after the election, I have no problem with that. It will be a government of national unity. In a winner-takes-all system it happens quite often that a former prime minister becomes the leader of the opposition. We are moving into a unique situation and I have no compunction about what lies ahead.

**On how the NP [National Party] will perform next week.**

[De Klerk] We are fighting to become the biggest party. Against even our own expectations and predictions, growing support is already showing up in the opinion polls. We didn't expect it to show so soon. There is a particular surge of support in Natal. And remember, when we talk about being the biggest party, we are not talking about having 50 percent or more of the vote in terms of our new system.

**On the option of staying out of the new Cabinet as an opposition party.**

[De Klerk] Well, that is a constitutional option. Nobody is forced into the government of national unity. But such a step would militate against what we set out to achieve. We said it is our policy that there must be power-sharing. We believe the country needs co-operation between the major parties. We need at least a period of stability during which political strife is put aside and we make a great effort at reconciliation and creating stability. And, on the basis of that stability, within the framework of wise and frugal economic policies, creating dynamic and sustained economic growth. The intensive negotiation of the past four years has proved itself to be a powerful mechanism, and this is what a government of national unity is about, it is a constant process of negotiation. Up till now we have been negotiating the constitution. In the government of national unity it becomes negotiation about each and every important issue which governments have to deal with.

**On his experiences on the campaign trail.**

[De Klerk] I've had no overwhelming problems so far in this campaign. The real bitterness of the right wing played itself out in 1989. It's still there of course, but it no longer impacts on my meetings and day-to-day activities. The last real problem I had was at Ventersdorp. Vis-a-vis the intimidation from ANC supporters, it has been a regular feature. Where it really got out of hand we laid complaints, and as you know big fines have been levied now. Those were really bad cases. In other instances we lived with it where it didn't get out of hand. Politics isn't for sissies. It's robust and I am not overly sensitive. You must just see to it that you have a very strong microphone and it has, sometimes, a very motivating effect on your own supporters when they see you are not frightened, and especially when they outnumber the others.

One of the good experiences was at one of my roadshows where a group of about 80 ANC youths was waving placards, and I think we had about 800 or so. So I said: "Why do we wait for the 27th of April? Let's vote now. All those of you who vote for the National Party put up your hands. It was a sea of hands. And then I said: "All those who vote for the ANC?" About 15 hands went up, and it created a great spirit.

**On how the relationship with the majority party will work.**

[De Klerk] We'll have to develop procedures for that. I've had interesting discussions with European leaders who are in similar situations. As a guideline, I would say there must be room for public dissension, because parties will retain their identity. On day-to-day matters, on immediate matters where consensus is reached, obviously we would avoid making the original dissension public. But where we do want to express our disagreement—that is what Parliament is there for. You could even register your opposition to a decision by taking a vote in parliament. But then, as happens with boards of directors in a company, you vote against it but you acquiesce in the decision of the majority.

One would have to limit such things to major policy issues where a party needs to say to the public: "If I had the sole say, this is how I would have done it." It is possible to marry these things. It happens in every practical partnership every day.

**On whether he will be able to criticise the new Cabinet freely.**

[De Klerk] Absolutely yes, that is why I emphasise that I am not there on the basis of anybody doing me a favour. I will be there as of right because the constitution says so. Another aspect which gives me confidence is that in negotiations we looked at the problem of what happens if you don't get along well, and we considered whether we should have decision-making processes—increased majorities, a voting procedure for Cabinet—and we agreed not to do so because that would militate against the spirit of a government of national unity. That says in itself you must seek unity, you must seek consensus, and we opted for consensus rule with regard to decision-making, without prescribed procedures which introduces a guillotine.

Because, once you have those, it is so easy to become confrontational because there is a decisive method in which to get a decision in any event. I want to avoid that and my interlocutors agreed with that. So, if the commitment is there from all sides, this is what the country needs.

**On "no-go" areas for parties.**

[De Klerk] I'm not a cry baby about the campaign so far. But what does bother me is when one is prevented from addressing a meeting. That is essentially wrong. A public meeting is a public meeting, and other people from other

parties have the right to attend, as long as they don't get out of hand. One must live with it.

The fact that there are certain inaccessible areas, or virtually inaccessible areas, is a blot on South Africa's reputation, and we must work to see that really free and fair campaigning, full and open campaigning, can be possible at all times. But you can't be too theoretical about this. I don't think the DP [Democratic Party] ever held a public meeting let's say in Swaruggens—they don't have supporters there. It is a reality. As a party one analyses where your strengths lie. The difficulty arises where you really know you can make inroads, break into new areas—this is our position—and then get barricades.

**On fears of chaos after election.**

[De Klerk] I think that is overdone. I don't agree. I think there will be euphoria, depending upon the results of course—it will determine who will be euphoric and who will not. But I think there will be festivities and activity, and from radicals even maybe last gasp sorts of protest. But I think it will die down soon. I think the public, almost all South Africans, are a bit tired of politics. They want life to return to normal, they want their TV and newspapers to become more relaxing and entertaining. I think that reflects the mood of the whole country; I really think by 11 May things will basically return to normal.

**Mandela Interviewed on Voting, Prison Life, Retirement**

MB2104080994 Johannesburg Radio South Africa  
Network in English 0610 GMT 21 Apr 94

**[From the "Radio Today" program]**

[Text] We continue with our interviews with the leaders of the main political parties. Siphiso Mogoda asked ANC President Nelson Mandela how he felt about voting for the first time in his life.

[Begin recording] [Mandela] It is difficult for me to imagine exactly how I would feel, except that to all of us it would be a historic and very exciting moment, because our forebears have fought for more than centuries for the day of liberation. To make that cross would be the fulfilment of a long-cherished dream which would enable us to close a chapter and to start laying the foundation stone so that all our people, without exception, can have a better life.

[Mogoda] Would you say things are more difficult outside prison than they were when you were still inside?

[Mandela] These are things which are incomparable because in prison, although one had time to sit down and to reflect on his work and the mistakes that have been committed in the past, and how to plan one's program, nevertheless it was not the type of life one would like to imagine for himself. Outside one has the opportunity to realize his life's ambition, to work with other comrades, to meet people, to exchange views, and to be able to



make a contribution to the struggle for the liberation of our people. There have been some positive things which we achieved in jail, but in spite of that prison is something that we do not wish anybody to go through. Whatever difficulties one faces outside, you are facing challenges which are intended to get your people to enjoy a better life.

[Mogoda] You are described as a former prisoner who came out of jail not bitter at all. Have you forgotten how to be bitter?

[Mandela] No. One has got feelings, and one is human. There are certain things which you feel ought not to have been done to you, but when you have got a program to carry out, it is not possible to concentrate on the negative aspects of your experiences, and in this regard I am not unique. All my colleagues who have been in prison, and those who have been in exile, those who have been harassed inside, they haven't got this feeling of bitterness, and they're concerned with promoting the welfare of the people of South Africa and solving problems, and therefore there is no time for bitterness, even if they wanted to be.

[Mogoda] What sort of dream did you have while in prison about South Africa and its people?

[Mandela] Well, I really wouldn't say that I had any specific dreams, except the important point of contributing to the liberation of our people. I tried in my situation to follow the campaigns launched by my colleagues, my comrades outside the country under the leadership of Comrade Oliver Tambo, and I was tremendously impressed by what they were doing. My only dream was to make a contribution to the immortal work which they were doing, highly impressive, competent leadership. My ambition, my dream, was to do everything in my power and in my situation to make their task as easy as possible.

[Mogoda] As a man who keeps fit, how much is left of your strength at this stage and how long will you continue to lead the ANC?

[Mandela] Well, for my age, which now is 75, I feel comparatively fit and I'm enjoying life, I'm enjoying the challenges which face me. As far as serving as leader of the African National Congress, this is not a position I have chosen for myself. It's a position given to me by my comrades. I will serve as long as they want me to serve. I am prepared to serve for another 5 years but of course, as I have said before, I am not getting young. At the end of that period of 5 years it will be necessary for me to give way to a younger man.

[Mogoda] Would we say that there's someone that you are grooming for this position?

[Mandela] No. It is for the comrades, at the right time, to select a leader. All that I can say is that we have highly competent comrades who can take the position of leadership, who deserve that position, and therefore I do not

think in our situation it is necessary to groom any particular individual. [end recording]

### ANC Responds to NP Criticism of Development Program

MB2104052594 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2013  
GMT 20 Apr 94

[Statement issued by the ANC on the SAPA PR Wire Service on 20 April]

[Text] The ANC has repeatedly said that the National Party [NP] has no programme or plan to place before the South African public. It is consequently running a totally negative campaign, trying to punch holes through the ANC's own carefully developed Reconstruction and Development Programme [RDP].

The NP's media conference of Tuesday 19th April was yet another case in point. We do not want to be trapped into a sterile argument about figures and estimates. But we think it is appropriate to point up that these are the scare tactics used in other campaigns in other countries in recent years. In the USA, the public relations consultants employed by the NP, attempted to use the same ploy against the Clinton/Gore presidential campaign. In Britain the very same tactics were used against the Labour Party. The executive summary of the current document even makes the bizarre observation: "This report is based on the costing of the Labour Party policies in the 1987 and 1992 UK general elections... "We are at a loss to explain its relevance."

To its credit, the NP did not conceal that its critique of the RDP was initiated by one Mr Tony Karpel, assisted by Mr Roelof Botha Jnr of the Rand Afrikaans University. This raises the question, do these scary figures derive from serious economic analysis, or are they thumb-sucks from manipulative PR consultants?

We are dealing here with an election ploy, a public relations exercise that the NP prepared in secrecy. Our RDP is the result of serious consultative processes, which were transparent, open and involving a wide circle of people outside the ANC and its allies. It included consultations with business, parastatals, the trade unions, the civics, religious communities and, through the people's forums, a host of other economic players.

During the short time that was available to us we have come up with new economic policies, whereas the NP, in government for 46 years, has nothing to offer. The people of South Africa have endured and suffered under the NP's policies for four decades. Those policies have left us with the unenviable legacy of massive unemployment, homelessness, economic decline and unequal education. Whatever else may be said, it is crystal clear that the NP has been an unmitigated disaster for this country.

The document prepared for the NP by Karpel completely ignores the real social and economic imperatives



and trade-offs associated with reconstruction and development. Instead it tries to score political points by exaggerating the costs beyond recognition while offering no solutions. Everyone agrees that we must make choices in using our limited resources. It is equally well-known that the legacy of 46 years of NP misrule will weigh heavily on the new government.

Taking Tony Karpel's document at its word, it would appear that the NP is opposed, among other things, to:

- supervised and hygienic child deliveries;
- equal tax treatment for women;
- ten years of free, quality education for all children;
- upgrading of hostels;
- reduced fiscal drag.

The authors, Karpel and Roelof Botha Jnr, appear remarkably ignorant of most current policy debates. This is hardly surprising, since its principal author is a British consultant while his South African junior partner has never been an active participant in these.

Running like a red thread through the document, are a number of groundless assumptions and bald assertions which the public are expected to believe merely because they've been pronounced. A telling example of this is the claim that: "Upgrading costs have been realistically estimated at an average of R16,500 [rand] per 15 square metres (housing 4 beds)." Firstly, no source is given for this astonishing assertion, which implies that upgrading one room in a hostel costs about a third as much as constructing an average township house.

With regard to taxes on women, again the document gives no sources for its figures. There appears also to be the assumption that women in this society earn as much as men. In South Africa, which we all know to be extremely gender biased that is a ludicrous assumption.

Every study of health care indicates that expenditures in these areas repay themselves many times over in savings in other areas of the health system. Thus the NP document does not use the costs for patients in public hospitals nor does it take into account the opportunity costs associated with unsupervised and unhygienic child deliveries. These are extensive in economic terms, even if we ignore, which we shouldn't, the costs in human terms. Adequate prenatal care and birthing facilities ultimately prove enormous net savings for the health care system as a whole, in addition to the visible social benefits.

In another sleight of hand typical of the document, the guesstimates it employs when discussing retraining of health workers assume six-months of full-time retraining. This is certainly not the normal way to upgrade professionals. A programme of part-time study and workshops would come closer to normal practice. While it does factor in the opportunity costs - those of productivity loss based on its exaggerated assumptions it ignores the much larger opportunity costs entailed in

continued neglect of primary health care. The social costs of course elude the authors completely.

The costing of education is based on the assumption that "quality education" requires the current wasteful, racially differentiated spending that is at the centre of the NP's current practice. The authors consequently argue that South Africa cannot hope to achieve quality education for all. In the long run, a national education budget of R23 billion should suffice, provided the funds are used equally on all pupils and the inefficiencies involved in 19 education departments and bloated bureaucracy are eliminated. The NP seems to think that South Africa cannot accomplish what virtually all other countries with similar levels of economic development have achieved.

When it comes to adult education, the sheer ignorance of the authors leads them to make an alarming array of unfounded assumptions. Just one example: The guesstimate suggests that South Africans who cannot read and write have had no schooling whatsoever. Even if that were the case it is a ridiculous assumption to make that because a child requires at least four years of education to be considered literate, and adult required the same time frame to reach the same level.

No amount of scare-mongering can conceal the bitter, yet incontrovertible truth that the NP's policies, past and present, have wrought havoc on this country. By its constant red-baiting the NP tries to imply that the ANC's policies are inspired by communism. All fair-minded people know they are not. Our policies are inspired by common sense. The common sense that tells us that in the absence of an effort to address the basic needs of our people there can be no stability. And that without stability there will be no economic growth.

The ANC is convinced that our plan is realisable, workable and affordable. What South Africa cannot afford is one day more of the NP's misrule, economic mismanagement and continuing corruption.

The ANC challenges the NP to come forward with its plan. We shall not hold our breaths in expectation because the NP has more than amply demonstrated its intellectual poverty. The NP campaign, run by a party with no ideas of its own to offer, much in the manner of a lazy schoolboy, has been content to literally crib and copy the ANC's campaign down to our very slogans. Perhaps we do however have this one consolation: "Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery".

#### ANC Cofounder's Descendants Switch to NP

MB2104082994 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2112  
GMT 20 Apr 94

[By Erna van Wyk]

[Text] Pretoria April 20 SAPA—The descendants of an African National Congress co-founder and former president had switched allegiances to the National Party

[NP] due to the ANC's "violence and intimidation", the NP said on Wednesday [20 April]. Robert Makgatho and his mother Elsie, among at least 11 members of former ANC President Sefako Mapogo Makgatho's family who would vote for the NP, were introduced to the media at an NP news conference in Pretoria.

A former Mamelodi councillor, Mr Makgatho said he had been a member of the United Democratic Front, a front organisation for the ANC, until 1990 when its "noble ideas had deteriorated into violence".

The practices of the ANC and its allies were "atrocious", he said, adding that he did not agree with strikes, disruptions of education and intimidation.

Some of his former colleagues had tried to discourage him from voting for the NP and he had received death threats. Three dockets had been opened against his intimidators, Mr Makgatho said.

While still a councillor he had been "intimidated out of his job" by ANC-aligned civic organisations that, among other acts, twice petrol-bombed his house.

Mr Makgatho said he believed if his great-grandfather had been alive he too would have voted for the NP because the ANC today bore no resemblance to the party he had helped found. "We believe he would have been appalled by the destruction of black education carried out by the ANC and its comrades in the name of revolution.

"We believe he would have been ashamed of the violence and intimidation carried out by those same people against anyone who dares to disagree with them."

Mr Makgatho said he had found a political home in the NP because of its ideals to create a peaceful and tolerant society. Although he was unemployed, his np support did not stem from material gain but "comes from my heart and soul".

Mr Makgatho's mother Elsie, 62, said she would also cast her vote for the NP because ANC comrades had sent people to intimidate her at her place of work because of her son's former councillorship and NP allegiance. "They also stole my car, and when I got another one, they burnt it out."

NP PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] election candidate Nana Masango, who organises in the Mamelodi community where the Makgothos reside, told the news conference the township was a NP "stronghold".

ANC supporters had been won over to the NP because of the ANC's intimidatory, disruptive and violent tactics and lawlessness, she said. "If the comrades, civics and self-defence units carry out their activities while they are not in power yet, what will they do if they are?"

"We cannot allow these atrocities to continue.

"The ANC is so power-drunk they will drive the country into anarchy," she said.

ANC President Nelson Mandela had named his second son after Mr Sefako Mapogo Makgatho as a sign of respect, his great-grandson said. Mr Makgatho founded the African Native Political Union in 1906 and the Transvaal African Teachers Association shortly thereafter, according to a biographical document issued by the NP at the news conference. "He was one of the eight-strong caucus which called the conference in Bloemfontein in January 1912 out of which the ANC emerged.

"He became a senior vice-president at that meeting and president of the ANC for a seven-year term in 1917.

"He was a close friend of Chief Albert Luthuli (another former ANC president) and a father figure to many of the new wave of activists that emerged in the 1940s—among them Mr Nelson Mandela.

"He died in 1951 and is buried in Mamelodi."

#### **Botha Says NP Considering Coalition in PWV**

*MB2004182694 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1600 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] Transvaal National Party leader Pik Botha says the party is considering forming a coalition to gain control of the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] province in next week's election. Mr. Botha told a news briefing that it was vital that the PWV, as the economic hub of South Africa, had an effective government. Conrad Burke reports.

[Begin recording] [Burke] The PWV. The National Party says there are over 4.5 million voters here, almost 1.5 million in Soweto alone, and according to the NP's PWV team, the party has a good chance here even as part of a coalition.

[Botha] There are other parties with more or less the same basic principles, the same policies and objectives. And I would have at this stage, that after the elections we would be able to form a coalition, partnership, a grouping together—I don't want to give it a name. But it would be improper of me to mention it at this stage because at this moment we are opponents.

[Burke] Yesterday's breakthrough with the Inkatha Freedom Party was described by Mr. Botha as the most day in South African history. It was also good news for the PWV election campaign.

[Botha] Yes, the decision and agreement means that we've now had a totally new ball game, particularly in this province—but certainly for Natal-kwaZulu, yes; but also for our province. I think that this will assist us to have more calm and an orderly election here which we really need. [end recording]



### **COSATU Leader on Election, Future of Union**

MB1904190394 Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
19 Apr 94 p 21

[Report by Shaun Johnson]

[Text] Sam Shilowa is a big man, big enough to wear two hats. He needs to be. The deceptively boyish-looking Congress of South African Trade [COSATU] general secretary is in one of transitional South Africa's more powerful and finely balanced positions. The task at hand is no less than giving birth to a new COSATU for a new South Africa. Unfortunately for him, that's not all that's occupying his time at the moment, with barely a week to go before South Africa's founding democratic election.

Shilowa—who took over from Jay Naidoo when the veteran unionist accepted nomination to the National Assembly—is tackling two great tasks simultaneously: planning for a strong COSATU under fundamentally altered political conditions, and campaigning at full tilt for the ANC in his Northern Transvaal home base. It's not a straightforward role, as is evident from recent prickly exchanges with ANC members on the TEC [Transitional Executive Council].

First, the short-term task: Shilowa says COSATU has sent teams into all 14 of the ANC's regions to bring their organisational capacities to bear in the final electoral push. This started some five weeks ago, it involves senior COSATU people, and weak areas are receiving priority. As far as possible, COSATU leaders are working in the regions from which they hail—Shilowa is stumping the Northern Transvaal and wowing audiences with his home-boy-made-good, rollicking style of delivery. How does this dovetail with the ANC?

"We agreed that COSATU's not running the election campaign," Shilowa says, "but we've got something to offer. We're integrating our campaigning." He and other leaders have been formally deployed by ANC headquarters. The COSATU teams are checking the readiness of specific areas for next week's polling.

Shilowa says it's simply a fact that during this key period of the transition, normal business is on hold for COSATU. "We're totally caught up in the process of transformation, and we're shedding leaders to the campaign and later to Parliament and the public sector. No normal organisational work is possible...The major task right now is to ensure an ANC victory."

The COSATU campaign initiative is a final push to translate emotional support into actual crosses on ballot papers come next Wednesday. Shilowa says it's all very well if other parties are weak or non-existent in the region but "no shows" at the polls would be tantamount to votes for the opposition. "So we're doing all sorts of things, like addressing people on buses as they travel from Seshego. It's kind of travelling people's forum, where we answer questions. We're not going to just sit

and hope that people go and vote themselves." The blitz will continue right up until the eve of the election, says Shilowa.

But that's the election, and much of Shilowa's thinking is longer term. "It's not just a case of putting in an ANC government. Then we've got to make a difference to people's lives in his poor region."

All of which raises the really big question: having been born in conditions of outright resistance to a hostile State, how is COSATU going to relate to a government which it not only supports, but has actively helped to shape? Aside from the challenge of developing new layers of leadership to replace those denuded by the defeat of apartheid (and the attendant danger that individual unions' interests will begin to outweigh the federation's), this is a profound question for COSATU. It has to fit itself in somewhere between an antagonistic relationship with a new government, and the sweetheart-union syndrome.

Shilowa has presented to his organisation a document entitled "Towards developing a long-term strategy for COSATU", which focuses on four key points.

—What are the implications of operating under a sympathetic government? Shilowa points out that COSATU has been "skilled into opposition politics, based on demands rather than joint projects with the State. But the Reconstruction and Development Programme is a joint document which carries obligations and responsibilities for both government and us. We will not be there opposing it clause by clause, we'll be working towards its implementation."

—How will COSATU's membership be fully serviced in the new South Africa? Shilowa says that until now COSATU has attracted members on two grounds—its ability to win bread-and-butter gains, and its political mission. "The reality is that we'll soon have a legitimate, democratic government, openly elected. It has the legitimacy to take actions, although obviously in consultation with other stakeholders. So the second, political, role begins to fall away. We therefore have to concentrate on servicing the needs of our membership, and already since 1992 we have faced complaints about gaps developing between grassroots membership and the various levels of leadership. If we can't address that, we're doomed as an organisation." He adds that the new COSATU will be confined to one constituency, and "won't want to speak out on everything. We'll be alive to broader political issues, of course, but it will be a more classical trade union role."

—How independent will COSATU be? Shilowa says many people misunderstand trade union "independence": "It's not the same as non-alignment—we are aligned, but concerned that programmes (to benefit our members) are implemented on their behalf. There's a perception that our leadership is more politically oriented than trade unionist, and that's



unfair. Our political involvement has benefited the union movement. COSATU must not allow itself to become a conveyor belt or sweetheart. Now we have put candidates in the ANC—we don't take the non-aligned view, but ask what they can do to implement the programmes."

—Will COSATU overstretch itself? Shilowa says the federation has become involved in "too many forums. That's been necessary, but it's not for ever because we don't have the capacity and the resources to sustain it. Our priorities are the National Economic Forum and the National Manpower Commission, and we think they could be combined. There'd be two chambers, one macro-economic and the other dealing with labour market issues. We'd be represented directly there, but not necessarily in all the other forums. COSATU needs to conserve and redirect its resources and energies in future."

I put the proposition directly: it's not just a new South Africa we're going to have to develop, but a new COSATU too. Shilowa's in full agreement.

#### **Officer Confirms SADF Replaces NPKF in East Rand**

*MB2004155194 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1517 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] Johannesburg April 20 SAPA—The South African Defence Force [SADF] has replaced the National Peacekeeping Force [NPKF] in the strife-torn East Rand townships, Wit Command spokesman Major Christo Visser confirmed on Wednesday [20 April]. He said a few platoons were sent in to "stabilise" the area where more than 20 people have died since Sunday night in fighting between hostel dwellers and Thokoza residents.

The decision was taken at a meeting on Tuesday night between the SADF and NPKF "to avoid further bloodshed" in the townships, Maj Visser said. "Since April 18 the security situation in the Katlehong, Thokoza and Vosloorus area deteriorated to such an extent that the commander of the NPKF in the area, Lieut Col Quentin Painter, requested the assistance of the SADF in the area.

On Wednesday, the SADF were patrolling "hotspots" while most NPKF units had been confined to barracks, he said. Maj Visser added: "The NPKF is now busy with a reassessment of the situation and will present this to the NPKF Command Council as we are going to present our reassessment to the chief of the army regarding our involvement in the area from now onwards."

Thokoza was quiet on Wednesday.

#### **Operations To Be Combined**

*MB2104073094 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[Text] The National Peacekeeping Force [NPKF] and the defense force will be involved in combined operations on the East Rand with immediate effect. This was decided yesterday evening at a meeting between the peacekeeping force and the defense force.

A spokesman for the peacekeeping force, Major. Math Anderson, has told our Johannesburg news staff that details of the combined operations will be released today. This follows heavy fighting in Thokoza earlier this week which claimed several lives. Reports say that the problem stemmed from a mutiny by more than 100 peacekeeping force troops. On Tuesday [19 April] the group allegedly refused to obey orders and locked their commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel Quinton Painter in his car.

#### **De Klerk: Placing NPKF Troops in Thokoza 'Blunder'**

*MB2104085494 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0600 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[Text] State President F.W. de Klerk says the decision to replace the defense force with the National Peacekeeping Force [NPKF] in Thokoza was a mistake. On a radio talk show last night President De Klerk said he had at one stage tried to stop the deployment of the peacekeeping troops in the East Rand township, but that it was then already too late. He said the government and the TEC [Transitional Executive Council] should take responsibility for the blunder.

#### **Police Strike Averted Over Pay Parity After Election**

*MB2104073894 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[Text] The threat of a countrywide police strike has been averted by a Transitional Executive Council agreement in principle on pay parity between all police forces in the country after the election. However, the South African Police Union is still negotiating with the TEC for a R61.50 [rand] daily election allowance in addition to a R21.50 a day police allowance.

#### **Six Percent Growth Rate Said Key to Economic Revival**

*MB2104081094 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[Text] The finance Minister, Derek Keys, says South Africa is not interested in an economy which grows at normal rates, as this will make no impact on the huge number of unemployed. Opening the new Johannesburg Press Club venue in Johannesburg, he said he believed that a growth rate of above 6 percent and not artificial factors such as a rise in the gold price or commodity

prices was needed to revive the economy. Mr. Keys said 6 percent was critical and that everything had to be done to try to achieve such a growth rate.

**South African Press Review for 21 Apr**  
**MB2104144194**

[Editorial Report]

#### THE STAR

ANC Agreement With COSATU on Strike Moratorium—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 21 April in a page-20 editorial says the Congress of South African Trade Unions' (COSATU) decision to accept a moratorium on strikes until after the election "is part of a quid pro quo, in which COSATU assented to a moratorium in return for an undertaking by the TEC [Transitional Executive Council] to address the fears and grievances of civil servants." The call for a freeze on strikes was made by "top ANC leaders," in "response to a crippling series of strikes by civil servants" which have now spread to "threaten the election process itself." However, if an ANC government is to fulfill its "ambitious programme of reconstruction and development, more than a moratorium on strikes is required. There must be a commitment to general wage restraint in the upper echelons of the civil service—soon to be filled by ANC appointees—as well as by workers generally. It will not be enough for the ANC to call on its alliance partner, COSATU, to urge the workers to tighten their belts. The ANC's leaders will have to show the way."

#### BUSINESS DAY

COSATU Sets Itself 'Coherent Agenda'—"Though COSATU faces difficult times because of the loss of

some of its most capable leadership to politics, it has set itself a coherent agenda," notes a page-14 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 21 April. "COSATU's agenda is not an unimaginative one. It will require an alert business (and government) effort to ensure that some overly adventurous proposals are moderated. COSATU's primary focus is on strengthening centralised collective bargaining. This is not, as some argue, an inherently flawed approach. If we want an era of industrial governance by consensus, it is probably essential." BUSINESS DAY also sees "a growing awareness in COSATU of the need to encourage small business development and, therefore, a willingness to exempt emerging businesses from the more onerous conditions of industrial council agreements."

#### SOWETAN

Buthelezi Brinkmanship—An editorial in the Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 21 April on page 10 looks at "cold facts" after the "euphoria of the Inkatha Freedom Party's [IFP] participation" in the elections. "Why did the country have to go right up to the brink before State President F W de Klerk, ANC President Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi stopped and turned back?" Was the IFP "playing chicken," as "it was pretty obvious to all that the IFP was preparing itself for the elections" and "were actually able to pull out posters and election material before the ink on the agreement had dried." "What does the death of hundreds in Natal and other provinces mean to the IFP?" "Now that sanity seems to be restored" a "programme to encourage reconciliation has to be pursued, not for the sake of the political parties involved, but for that of the country as a whole."

**Angola****Government, UNITA Sign Accord on Election Process***MB2004203494 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Report by correspondent Manuel da Conceicao in Lusaka]

[Text] An important step was taken today at the Lusaka talks between the government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. The two delegations reached agreement on the general principles of the electoral process. The document was signed today by the government and UNITA, under the auspices of the mediator and in the presence of the observers.

The general principles on the completion of the electoral process include four points—namely, reinstatement of state administration throughout Angola, guarantees of security, freedom of expression for citizens, and resumption of air and ground communications throughout Angola to ensure the free movement of people and goods. The United Nations will be responsible for monitoring, verifying, and declaring whether the conditions have been created to hold the second round of presidential elections, of which the candidates are Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi.

Alioune Blondin Beye, UN special representative in Angola, invited Angolan newsmen to attend the signing ceremony.

Tomorrow the delegations will begin discussing the specific principles on the electoral process. The government and the UNITA negotiating teams have already received the respective document.

**Diplomat in Lisbon Denies dos Santos-Savimbi Meeting***MB2104081194 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] An Angolan diplomat in Lisbon has denied reports that President Jose Eduardo dos Santos will meet with Jonas Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], in New York. The spokesman of the Angolan embassy in Lisbon said that Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who left Luanda for Brazil, is not scheduled to stop over in New York to meet Savimbi. The meeting between Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi has been reported by the Portuguese television.

**UNITA Reports 'Violent Clashes' in Cuanza Norte***MB2004204794 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 1900 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] There have been more defeats in Cuanza Norte where MPLA-PT [Popular Movement for the Liberation

of Angola-Labor Party] troops are on the offensive against areas controlled by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. Violent clashes have taken place in the past few hours on the banks of Lucala 2 River and in the (Ndombe-ia-Dombe) region. South African mercenaries are involved in the operations. Our N'Dalatando correspondent reports:

The enemy attempted to cross Lucala 2 River, but was repelled [passage indistinct] an armored vehicle carrying a platoon of South African mercenaries was completely destroyed. We are waiting for a final report on the losses. Jose Eduardo dos Santos' troops flattened to the ground a civilian (?settlement). One of the civilians who survived the attack said he saw many whites [passage indistinct].

**UNITA Reports Further Clashes With FAPLA in Ble***MB2004204994 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 1900 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] Combat aircraft yesterday parachuted fuel, war materiel, and foodstuffs for People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] units besieged in Cuito. Our correspondent reports that the seven parachutes fell into Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] defense lines at 1500. FAPLA units and riot policemen tried in vain to retrieve the parachutes, violating the glorious FALA forces' defense lines, using intense fire backed by heavy and self-propelled artillery pieces.

FALA forces had no option but to defend themselves. After an intense 40-minute clash, Jose Eduardo dos Santos' adventurers were forced to beat a hasty retreat [words indistinct] abandoning large quantities of war materiel. The clashes took place in (Cambulucuco) Ward and in the former Fermina school. The incident occurred 48 hours after the FALA regional command warned the Luanda troops not to violate UNITA's defense lines. Our correspondent reports that the situation has returned to normal.

**Lesotho****Cabinet Ministers Flee After Receiving Death Threats***MB2004155094 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1500 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] Five Lesotho Government ministers, including four held captive by mutinous soldiers last week, have fled to Botswana. The principal secretary of information and broadcasting in Lesotho, Mr. Seiso Serutla, said the ministers had fled following death threats last night. The crisis last week arose when members of the Royal Lesotho Defense Force demanded 100 percent pay rise.



**Absent Ministers Said on Business**

*MB2004162894 Maseru Radio Lesotho in English  
1600 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] The public is notified that some government ministers that are known to have gone out of the country have done so on Lesotho Government business. The principle secretary for the ministry of information and broadcasting, Mr. Seeiso Serutla, said reports from the foreign media on the matter are meant to mislead the nation. Mr. Serutla said the said ministers will return to Lesotho after completing their official assignments.

**Further on Alleged Flight of Ministers**

*MB2104104494 London BBC World Service in English  
0600 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[From the "Network Africa" program presented by Max Gerard]

[Text] Lesotho is a tiny mountainous state surrounded by South Africa, where there seem to be pretty strange things happening at present. You may recall the interview at the start of the week on Network Africa, with the country's minister of natural resources, Monyane Moleleki, who had been briefly detained and released along with three other ministers by dissident soldiers. They also shot dead the deputy prime minister, Selometsi Baholo. Well, it now seems that these ministers and others may well have left the country for nearby Botswana. Veronique Edwardes is in Lesotho at the moment, and on the line to Maseru I asked her what she has been able to find out about the ministers' whereabouts.

[Begin recording] [Edwardes] The government came out with a statement saying these ministers had actually left to go to this country on ministerial duties and will be returning back to the country as soon as they finish what they were supposed to do.

[Gerard] So, you are saying that the government has now actually commented on the ministers leaving?

[Edwardes] Yes they have, and this leaves a lot of questions unanswered, because most people are asking the questions, if these ministers were supposed to go out on ministerial duties as the government now has now has come out with a statement to this effect, why did they leave in such a hurry, and why leave at night, and why were the officers not informed? Because I went to most of the offices of these ministers, apparently their secretaries did not even know that the ministers were out of the country, and at some point I even met some of the bodyguards of some of these ministers who had dutifully turned up for their duties and did not even realize that their ministers were not available.

[Gerard] So, just to clarify, Veronique, are we talking about five ministers who have gone to Botswana?

[Edwardes] I noticed about five or six ministers that are unaccounted for, the minister of natural resources, Mr. Moleleki; the minister of education, Mr. Mosisili; the minister of information and broadcasting, Malie; the minister justice, Mr. Albert Malope; and then the minister of trade, industry and tourism, who is the brother of the prime minister, Mr. Shakhane Mokhehle, and the prime minister is away. The minister of health is away, so you have a skeleton of a cabinet left, with three ministers and a junior minister who was just employed last week.

[Gerard] So, where did the statement from the government come from? Who actually made it?

[Edwardes] The information came from the permanent secretary from the Ministry of Information last evening, and it was very short, and nobody really expanded more on what he had to say other than that these ministers were out on official duties and that they will be returning.

[Gerard] Can you describe first the atmosphere in Maseru at the moment, given these rather strange goings on, and still in the aftermath of the shock of the assassination of the deputy prime minister?

[Edwardes] In the towns and cities people do not care much as long as they are not directly by it, or if they are not personally affected by what is going on. This is what is really amazing, because on the surface of it, the people look very docile as if they don't care about what is going on, but deep down, when you talk to people you would know that they are worried, they are afraid, they don't know what is going to happen, and there are so many questions that they would like the government to answer. [end recording]

**'Sporadic Gunshots' Reported in Maseru**

*MB2104071494 Johannesburg Radio South Africa  
Network in English 0618 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[From the "Radio Today" program—monitored in progress]

[Text] ...14th of April the deputy prime minister, Mr. Baholo, was murdered by soldiers in the Makoanyane Barracks outside Maseru and four cabinet ministers taken hostage. The circumstances of Mr. Baholo's death are still unclear, although we know that his body was riddled with bullets. His funeral will take place on Saturday 23 April in Leribe and Friday has been declared a day of mourning, with schools and buildings closing.

There is a strong military presence in the town, but apart from sporadic gunshots, everything is quiet at the moment, although Friday's public holiday reflects the government's concern about possible unrest. Prime Minister Mr. Mokhehle has not given any statement as yet on the abrupt departure of half his cabinet, but we believe that the ministers of information, natural resources, and

trade have fled to Botswana, and the ministers for education and justice to South Africa. Whether the government of Lesotho will be able to overcome the present difficulties remains to be seen. This is Sara Hilderbrand for Radio Today in Maseru.

### **Two Ministers Return**

*MB2104120394 Maseru Radio Lesotho in English  
1130 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[Text] Two of the six cabinet minister who had fled the country this week arrived in Maseru this morning. The principal secretary for information and broadcasting, Mr. Seeiso Serutla, said six cabinet ministers had fled the country after receiving rumors of threats to their lives. He said the rumors alleged that members of the Army would not accept their salary checks for this month and that the ministers would be killed. He said the situation was that the armed forces had accepted their checks and that allegations that ministers would be killed were not true.

Mr. Serutla said the Government of Lesotho has agreed with the leaders of the Army on some increase in the salaries of the armed forces and the increase will be reflected in their pay packets for May. Mr. Serutla further said it was true that some ministers were out of the country on official business and they are the ministers of foreign affairs, the minister of health, and that of labor and employment.

### **Heavy Gunfire Reported Outside Maseru**

*MB2104122194 Maseru Radio Lesotho in English  
1130 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[Text] Heavy gunfire was heard at Ha Seoli, on the outskirts of Maseru at dawn today. People in that area said they heard heavy gunfire toward the night and that in the morning police were surrounding one house. The policemen who were at the scene did not allow reporters to enter the house, saying they were still investigating.

Their commander said reporters could consult the head of the publicity department of the police, Major Refiloe Motaung.

In an interview, Major Motaung confirmed that police raided one house at Ha Seoli this morning, adding that the police were performing their normal operations.

### **Mozambique**

#### **Ministers Council Approves Accords, Bills**

*MB2104121294 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network  
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] The Ministers Council held its eighth session in Maputo yesterday. The session assessed the report by the government delegation to the meeting with trade unions and employers. The session also assessed a memorandum on measures to minimize poverty and the composition of the government delegation to the inauguration of the president of the Republic of South Africa.

The Ministers Council also assessed and approved a resolution ratifying the loan agreement signed in February 1994 between the Mozambican Government and the African Development Fund, regarding the financing of the forest and wild life development project. The session also approved a resolution ratifying a loan agreement signed with the African Development Bank in Abidjan in February 1994 on renovating the Massingir dam and assistance to subsistence farmers. The Ministers Council also approved a resolution ratifying a loan agreement signed in Washington in September 1993 with the International Development Association on the project for renovating local government organs and engineering projects.

The Ministers Council also approved the decree revising fuel prices and the decree introducing new fuel taxes. The session also approved a decree introducing changes to No. 3 of Article 7 of the Circulation Tax Law, empowering the minister of finance to decide when there should be exemptions or reduction of duties on imported equipment.

## **Liberia**

### **Assembly Confirms Five Ministerial Nominees**

*AB2104100594 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[Text] Five nominees, who appeared before the TLA [Transitional Legislative Assembly] for confirmation hearings were confirmed yesterday at the Assembly and subsequently commissioned by the chairman of the Council of State, Councillor David Kpomakpor. Those commissioned yesterday were Mr. Thomas Woewiyu, minister of labor; Mr. Samuel C. Dhokie, minister of internal affairs; Mr. (Zen Dekie), minister of lands, mines, and energy; and Councillor Laveli Supuwood, minister of justice. Mr. Wilson Tarpeh, nominee for the post of minister of finance, and retired General Sande Ware, minister of defense, are expected to be commissioned this morning at the Executive Mansion.

### **Taylor Disagrees With Appointments**

*AB2104073594 London BBC World Service in English  
1705 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] It looks as if the log jam in Liberia's peace process has been eased. The factions that signed last year's Cotonou accord have been deadlocked over the appointment of ministers in the transitional council. Charles Taylor has been rejecting the selection of four cabinet ministers—justice, finance, defense, and foreign—and has been refusing to seat to his NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] nominees who have been appointed. The NPFL has also been refusing to attend nomination hearings. But now, agreement has been reached over who should have three of the four ministries and it looks like quite a breakthrough. From Monrovia, Nii Nartey Allison telexed this report:

Liberia's five-member transitional council today announced new heads for the ministries of justice, finance, and defense. A statement from the office of Council Chairman David Kpomakpor said a minister of foreign affairs will be named shortly. The council appointed Laveli Supuwood of the NPFL to head the Justice Ministry. Sande Ware, of the defunct interim government of Amos Sawyer, retains the post of defense minister, and Banker Wilson Tarpeh got the finance portfolio on the ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia] ticket.

The statement said the parties to the Cotonou accord made the nominations for three of the four disputed portfolios, leaving the State Council with a free hand to appoint a foreign minister. It said the new appointees and cabinet nominees of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia were expected to go to the confirmation hearings today. NPFL cabinet nominees expected for today's

confirmation hearings include Joe Mulbah of information, Tom Woewiyu of labor, and Samuel Dhokie, internal affairs.

A Nigerian diplomat said this is the best piece of news for ages and an editorial article today in the Monrovia DAILY NEWS declared: At last a dove of peace is apparently flying over this troubled nation of ours.

Charles Taylor of the NPFL in Liberia has just called us up to say that the agreement on the appointment of cabinet ministers does not have his blessing. He said if Laveli Supuwood has accepted the appointment as justice minister, he is a defector from the NPFL.

### **New Justice Minister Urges Fighters To Turn in Arms**

*AB2104103094 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 21 Apr 94*

[Text] Liberia's new justice minister, Councillor Laveli Supuwood, has called on fighters to turn in their arms and work toward enhancing the peace process. Minister Supuwood was speaking yesterday at the Executive Mansion following the commissioning of he and three other NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] nominees confirmed yesterday by the Transitional Assembly. He said Liberians should not be deprived of their peace and freedom of movement only to satisfy a handful of people. Minister Supuwood also called on the international community, friendly governments, and the business community to recognize the Liberian National Transitional Government, saying it is the legitimate government of the people of Liberia.

### **Aid Agency Denies Employees Kidnapped by Faction**

*AB2004114594 Paris AFP in English 0637 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Text] Abidjan, 20 Apr (AFP)—A French aid agency has denied a UN report that five of its employees in Liberia had been kidnapped by one of the country's armed factions. International Action Against Hunger said in a statement here that two Liberian nationals working for the group had been "held up for several hours last week at Kanweikan," about 200 kilometers (125 miles) east of the capital Monrovia. "They were held up by local military security officials on grounds that authorities had not been informed that the two employees had been transferred," the group said. It noted that the transfer had in fact been initiated by "the highest local civilian authority." A United Nations spokesman in Monrovia said Monday [18 April] that militants from the National Patriotic Front had seized five workers from the French agency, accusing them of backing a rival militia, the Liberia Peace Council.



**Mali****Government-Azaouad Negotiations Postponed***LD2004151594 Algiers Radio Algiers Network in Arabic  
1200 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Excerpt] After four days of negotiations between the Azaouads and the Malian Government in Tamanrasset, which were initially marked by optimism by the parties to the dispute, on the implementation of the Bamako agreement and the reintegration of the Azaouads in various aspects of life in their country of origin, the dialogue between the two sides has been postponed until a later date. We review the reasons for this postponement with our correspondent from Hoggar.

[Correspondent] We reviewed the contents of the latest talks held last night with (Abderrahmane Guella), general coordinator of the Azaouad movement.

[Begin (Guella) recording] Thanks to the efforts of the mediator, we reached an agreement on holding another meeting in Algeria in the next few days. By then the [Malian] government side will have discussed the fronts' points of view and made a final decision regarding them, because the government delegation has asked for consultations with its government, and God willing, the minutes of the meeting could be signed. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Talks were marked by intransigence in some positions, despite the Algerian mediator's efforts. The last phase lasted until late last night and was marked by differences in principle regarding the implementation of the agreement on integration as a main point in the final solution to the crisis.

The Malian Government delegation raised several problems which its government was facing and which would not allow the total acceptance of the demands of the Azaouads regarding the number of those to be integrated in various economic, political, and military sectors. The delegation justified this by the reforms currently under way in Mali within the framework of its program with the International Monetary Fund. [passage omitted]

**Niger****Opposition Issues Statement, Calls For End to Violence***AB2004185994 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 1200 GMT 20 Apr 94*

[Statement issued by the nonparliamentary opposition in Niamey on 20 April; read by unidentified person—recorded]

[Text] The implementation of a parliamentary opposition call for civil disobedience, and the government's reaction it, have led to events which seriously threaten the democratic process in our country. In the face of this danger to the democratic process, and in the face of a real

risk of an upsurge in violence, the signatory parties to this present statement reaffirm their commitment to the protection of democracy in our country. They appeal to the people of Niger not to yield to the temptation to engage in violence, but to instead work toward achieving the main objective of fighting to initiate true democracy.

They call on the government to put an end to an escalating cycle of actions, and to bring its actions in line with the requirements of the democratic process. They call on parliamentary opposition members to discontinue violence, so as not to strengthen the government's authoritarian tendencies. They demand the unconditional release of the arrested persons in order to create the conditions for true democratic dialogue, and extend their condolences to the victim's family.

The signatory parties are: the (?ADC-Zoumonki), (?MDP-Alaholi), (?ORDN-Parmamoua), PMT-Albarka, (?UPR-Zebano) [expansions unknown]. [end recording]

**Prime Minister Discusses Economic Measures***AB2004221194 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 1200 GMT 19 Apr 94*

[News conference by Prime Minister Mahamadou Issoufou with foreign and domestic correspondents in Niamey on 18 April—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Voix du Sahel correspondent Braimah Fadoumouchi] Prime Minister, you recently declared that financial folly is over in Niger and that all citizens must pay taxes. How does the government intend to organize the collection of national taxes.

[Issoufou] Following a working session with the major revenue collecting services at the Ministry of Finance, I said that our financial vacation is over. This is justified because we have witnessed a progressive reduction in taxation in our economy since 1987. This has led to a drastic fall in the state's tax revenues. As I have often emphasized, this has led to a fall in taxes collected compared with the total revenue, the gross domestic product, generated in the country. In the early eighties, taxes amounted to 13 percent of the gross domestic product. When we took over the management of the country, taxes hardly made up 7 percent of the gross domestic product.

In my general policy statement, I made clear that one of the government's priorities was to streamline the public finance and to boost our economy. The streamlining of the public finance must be accomplished in two phases. The first phase bears regards the increase in revenues earned from taxes and the second concerns the sound management of the state's expenditure. Your question concerns the first phase related to increasing revenue earned from taxation. We plan to increase our fiscal revenue from 7 percent to 15 percent. In the stabilization and economic reform program which we have signed with the IMF...[pauses] in the confirmation agreement which we have signed with the IMF and in the program

which we intend to sign to facilitate a strong structural adjustment program, our objective is to be able to collect taxes making 11 percent of the gross domestic product in 1996.

How does the government intend to reach this goal? As you know, the government has been able to identify the obstacles that caused the fall in fiscal revenues. One of the greatest obstacles is the domination of our economy by the unofficial sector. We will fight against this. The decision to devalue the CFA franc on 12 January also falls under this category. The devaluation was aimed at effectively reducing fraud which is most commonly used by the informal sector. We will take particular steps to fight fraud. We will also provide the services with the necessary human and material resources accomplish this goal, because, as you know, unfortunately, our fiscal administration organ is understaffed, both the Central Revenue Department and the Customs Service. All these departments are understaffed. The government's objective is to increase the human resources of these departments. There is also the problem of transportation. We cannot control, for example, the long border which we have with Nigeria without vehicles to enable the Customs Service to accomplish this mission. These are therefore the measures to be taken by the government to achieve this goal.

[Fadoumouchi] How far have the Niger authorities gotten on negotiations with our mining partners concerning the new price of uranium?

[Issoufou] As you know, every year the Government of Niger meets with buyers who are also shareholders in the uranium mining companies, the Akouta Mining Company and the Air Mining Company. Negotiations began at the end of 1993 resulting in a fixed uranium price for 1994. It was fixed at 14,440 CFA per kilogram. These negotiations also led to the fixed levels of production. The level for 1994 was set at 3,000 tonnes. The decision to devalue the CFA franc was made on 12 January. Considering the fact that these mining companies import a great quantity of other materials, they were obliged to review their production costs. Generally, the price of uranium is [word indistinct] price which is fixed according to the production cost of the mining companies. So, as the production costs have changed, the price must also change. Consequently, we have decided to meet with the buyers again to hold fresh discussions in order to fix a final price for uranium considering the devaluation.

[Unidentified correspondent] Soon after the devaluation of the CFA franc, the government took a number of steps to exempt some goods from customs duties. This measure must end in April. Have you already thought of the

end of April? Have some measures already been taken to prevent the situation from worsening?

[Issoufou] You have asked an important question concerning the CFA devaluation. Before answering your question, I would like to remind you of the arguments on which this devaluation decision was founded. Our governments had outlined a program of stabilization and economic reforms. These programs were intended to streamline the public finances and boost the economy through internal adjustment measures. This is why, from the beginning, the program was drawn up on a number of factors, based first on the rate of growth of the gross domestic product which was fixed at around 4 percent. [passage omitted] This is why we have decided to reflect on the issue of devaluation. This is why we have analyzed the positive and negative effects of devaluation. Among these effects is the fall in the purchasing power of the people. This in turn is linked to the subsequent increase in inflation which we estimated to be a level which, fortunately, was not attained. All the analyses made and all the information received from the statistics department have shown that the average inflation is currently around 22 percent. As a first step, we reacted by freezing the prices of essential goods because we felt that the stocks of these commodities were in the stores; they were acquired before the devaluation. So there was no reason for increasing their prices. This is the reason for the government's first decision to freeze prices, but the government cannot keep prices frozen forever. This means that imports must continue under new post-devaluation conditions. This is why we have envisaged a second phase of regulation and administration of prices, and it is this new phase that we are currently in.

As you know, the Ministry of Commerce is charged with fixing prices of essential goods to protect consumers and avoid penalizing businessmen. We have also envisaged that at the local level, committees should fix prices as in traditional markets. All this has helped to contain inflation. We know that during the month of Ramadan fasting the inflation was high. We are now witnessing a readjustment of the market and an effective reduction in the rate of inflation. This reduction in the rate of inflation was also obtained because the government has taken a number of fiscal steps to reduce the effects of imported inflation and it is in so doing that the government has reviewed taxes on goods and services. For example, customs duties have been reduced by half. All this was done, not only to protect consumers, but also to protect our enterprises which have a relatively large quantity of intermediary goods to import. These are the measures taken by the government and these measures have yielded extremely positive results because, as I have said, they have helped to contain inflation. [passage omitted]

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